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able with law, the legal title to these lands is held by an individual, but he holds in trust for the *santo*. His interest in the land is no greater than that of any other member of the *barrio*. The lands are sowed, tended, and harvested in common by the men of the *barrio*, under the direction of the *mayordomo* of the *santo*, and the crop, when sold, goes to the upkeep of the chapel—for candles, curtains for the altars, etc. Most of the lands so communally owned by the *barrios* are *milpas* on which maize is grown. But San Miguel also owns a grove of *chirimoyas*, and San Pedro owns a grove of cedars. (Cedar boughs, now as in pre-Columbian times, are much used in decorating altars and are subject to other religious and magical uses.) In addition, certain of the *barrios*, notably San Miguel, own bulls which are used for *toros*, a sort of rustic bullfight sometimes held on the occasion of the *fiesta* of the *santo*. During the rest of the year the bulls are loaned out to members of the *barrio* for upkeep.[1]

The *barrio* is plainly recognizable as the pre-Columbian *calpolli*. From the accounts[2] we have of the social organization of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and of Texcoco, it appears that each *pueblo* in the Nahua area was divided into units which bore this name. These units were originally, it has been supposed,[3]

[1] The communal ownership of these bulls is not fully attested. During the year of the writer's stay San Miguel lent its bulls to Los Reyes at the time of the *fiesta* of the latter *barrio*; Los Reyes had none of its own, or too few.

[2] See T. T. Waterman, *Bandelier's Contribution to the Study of Ancient Mexican Social Organization*.

[3] *Ibid.* Spinden, *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*, p. 190, contra.

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the afternoon a dinner is served there to twelve of the older men. This symbolizes the Last Supper. A thirteenth chair is left vacant. The Lenten meal is eaten: fish, rice, and sometimes lentils and the dish known as *revoltijo*.[1]

Wednesday.—Today and Thursday and Friday and on Saturday morning only absolutely necessary work is done. No social entertainment is held, no rocket is discharged. The men do not go to fetch wood from the mountains; the public washing-stones are deserted. The women do only the unavoidable grinding and cooking. People try to have enough water hauled by Tuesday night to last until Saturday. The bells are not rung in the church towers; instead, the *matraca*, a huge wooden rattle, is sounded.

Thursday.—The altars in the church are decorated with laurel and with cedar. On each lie rows of oranges and *toronjos* (the shaddock), with little squares of gold and silver paper pasted on them.[2] An image (El Señor de Santo Entierro) is displayed in a glass-and-gilt coffin. A man sits at the entrance of the church to collect offerings (which are occasional and not made as perpetual pledges) for the crown and clothing of this image. In the afternoon, if the priest is there, he washes the feet of the Disciples. Many

[1] A seasoned stew of shrimps and nopal (cactus).

[2] The laurel and cedar are given away the following Monday. They are used to stop storms, particularly hailstorms. When a storm approaches, people put one of these sacred boughs on the fire and the storm recedes. Frances Toor (*op. cit.*, p. 54) says they are also hung up at doors and windows to keep out evil spirits. The oranges and shaddocks are blessed by the priest and sold; the peel is used for various remedies.

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women come to pray and burn candles, and some bring garlands of *flor de chicaltzo* or *cacaloxochitl*[1] to hang on the candles. [796* 782]

Some of the chapels are open, and special images are displayed for veneration. In the chapel of Santa Cruz the *mayordomo* dresses the image known as El Señor de Los Azotes. [794 778]

Good Friday.[2]—All the ordinary images and the large Christ at the central altar are covered with purple curtains. At one side of the church three special images are exhibited: a Christ lying beneath a purple shroud,[3] a Christ bearing the cross,[4] a Mary dressed in black.[5] All morning people come to pray, to burn candles, and to set incense-burners before these images.[6] A little girl dressed in white with a white crown sits before the recumbent Christ, tending the incense-burner. Among the crowd of kneeling women are four young girls dressed all in black, with their hair dressed in many tight curls, and wearing black crowns. These are the *anxeltin tenapalohuatonantzin* ("angels who carry the Virgin"). [778]

[1] *Plumeria tricolor* Ruiz and Pavon. [824]

[2] Frances Toor says that when the priest is there on Friday morning he performs a ceremony known as the "adoration of the cross." He crawls on his knees between two rows of men to kiss the cross, followed by women and children.

[3] El Señor de Santo Entierro.

[4] Tres Caidos.

[5] La Virgen Dolorosa.

[6] The first two of these images have each their special *mayordomos*. The Virgen Dolorosa is served by four elderly women, the *madres mayelas*. These (and probably also the two *mayordomos*) serve for life. The *madres mayelas* select each year the four *anxeltin*. [794]

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prayers give way to play; the temple becomes the scene of a party. 796*

December 23.—Pilgrims pass through Tepoztlán on their way to the shrine at Chalma. They carry staffs surmounted by the cross, or baskets of food; some bear flutes and drums. Some sing *alabados* ("chants of praise") as they go. They pause in houses along their road to rest and gossip. At midnight a few from Tepoztlán take the road for Chalma. 788 796* 533

December 24.—This is *la Noche Buena*. In the morning women come to the market place to sell *tetzmixochitl*. There are two kinds, red[2] and yellow.[3] This is the only day in the year when these flowers are sold. They are used to prepare the altar at which at midnight the newborn Christ—a small doll—is put to bed. He is the "child God" (*el niño Dios*), "the divine child" (*teopiltzintli*). Girls and women buy these flowers; with these and cedar boughs the shrine is made. At night, after the last *posada*, people do not go to bed. There are lights in many houses; the chapels remain open. At midnight, in some homes and chapels, the Christ child is laid in his cradle behind the candles lit to him. The women kneel and sing the traditional lullaby.[3] 796* 438 824 782 533 796*

Before midnight people are out in the streets, waiting for *Los Pastores*. The festal feeling has accumulated; everyone is intent on the midnight ceremonies.

[2] *Sedum dendroicum* Moc. and Sessé.

[3] *Sedum sp.*

[3] Printed in *Mexican Folkways*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Dec.–Jan., 1926).

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mass. This is the *tacamisa*. This is one of the most important occasions in the life of the child. After the mass, there is a celebration at the home of the child, attended by its relatives; *mole poblano*, reserved for the most important *fiestas*, is served.

There are special dangers and sicknesses to which a newborn child or the mother is particularly liable. The dangers from *el espanto* ["the fright sickness," later described] are greater then. Small children are especially subject to *el daño* ["the evil eye"] and to *los aires* [diseases caused by the evil spirits of the air]. *Ixtlaxolcocoliztli* ["clouds-in-the-eyes-sickness"] is a disease [probably *ophthalmia neontorum*] common to infants. The symptoms are blood and pus coming from the eyes. It is thought to be caused by the presence near the infant of a man or a woman who has recently had sexual intercourse. It may be cured by administering a remedy composed of the umbilical cord of a boy, that of a girl, some raisins, the leaves of *tzitziquilitl*,[1] and the flowers of *sauca*.[2] It is also treated with *Sal de Colima*. This salt is ground and then placed in the form of a cross on the child's tongue with the pestle [*tejolote*] which has first been scrubbed with *estrepaco*. If a nursing child vomits, the mother's breasts are washed with an infusion of *tlamatlantli*.[3] Then the child is allowed to nurse. The mother may take this infusion internally. If a child experiences difficulties during teething, a fly may be caught and boiled with cumin seed. A little of this administered to a baby will make its teeth come out.

If the mother dies, a wet nurse [*nodriza* or *chichina*] is sought. "She earns twenty *pesos* a month and her food." If the family cannot afford a wet nurse, they give sweetened milk flavored with chocolate, cinnamon, or coffee. "But then the child usually dies."

Children are nursed by the mother for two years or more, although milk is early supplemented by adult food. Food given in early life is bread, *tortillas*, milk, beef, bean soup, and macaroni soup. All bananas, except the large, long variety, are considered harmful as causing constipation. Rice is bad for the same

[1] *Bidens leucantha* (L.) Willd.

[2] *Sambucus mexicana* Presl.

[3] *Solanum madrense* Fernald.

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al medicine, and a special goddess of herbs; and the Mexican folk of the present day have retained and modified much of this herbal lore.[1] The principal informant on this point collected in the vicinity of Tepoztlán one hundred and ten remedial plants, and for each she gave the name and use.[2]

The infectious diseases acquired from Europeans, which occasionally are epidemic in Tepoztlán, such as smallpox, whooping-cough, and diphtheria, are well known and named. Judging from the materials available here, there is not much specialized folk medicine in connection with them. Venereal disease is plainly distinguished. A common remedy is the root of sarsaparilla, sometimes boiled with tamarind seeds. The only remedy for consumption noted is to boil a piece of china in water and drink it.

But of the diseases which are regarded as entities, and not mere symptoms that may result from varying causes, those most frequently diagnosed and treated are a group which may be termed "folk diseases" as distinguished from concepts of the morbid directly imitated from modern Western civilization. Some of these folk diseases involve supernatural causation, and some do not. The latter class are commonly rough approximations of disease categories recognized in modern city life.

[1] Louis Sue, *Les plantes médicinales du Mexique.*

[2] Those on this list which it was possible to identify botanically are given, with their uses, in Redfield, art., "Remedial Plants of Tepoztlán."

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spirits of the air. They are found wherever there is water—at water tanks, in ravines, at public washing-places, in the rain. They are thought of as very little people. The sure diagnostic feature is their appearance in dreams to the person afflicted; he sees them scolding him and striking at him. Then he knows that he has offended them.

Los aires[1] may cause all sorts of mischief. Mere stumbling may be attributed to them. There are certain very characteristic symptoms, however. They disfigure the mouth (*tecamacolohua*); they bring spots (*texiomaca*); they bring pimples or sores (*tezahuama*); they cause palsy (*tecohcototzohua*). Paralysis and scab-like sores are especially attributed to them.

An important part of the treatment for this disease is washing with certain herbs.[2] There are also several internal remedies. Powdered woodpecker's head is one of these. Amulets[3] are worn to keep away the disease. People are careful to keep away from places where water collects. It is dangerous to bathe in the open for this reason.

The washing with herbs should be done at the intersection of two streets. When it is completed, the bundle of herbs is flung away and everyone rushes into the house without looking back. Often the washing with herbs includes fumigation with the smoke of a cigarette.

[1] The name is applied to the beings as well as to the disease.

[2] Esp. *Piqueria trinervia* Cav. and *Salvia microphylla* H.B.K.

[3] Commonly the seeds of *Mucuna*, perforated and equipped with bits of colored yarn.

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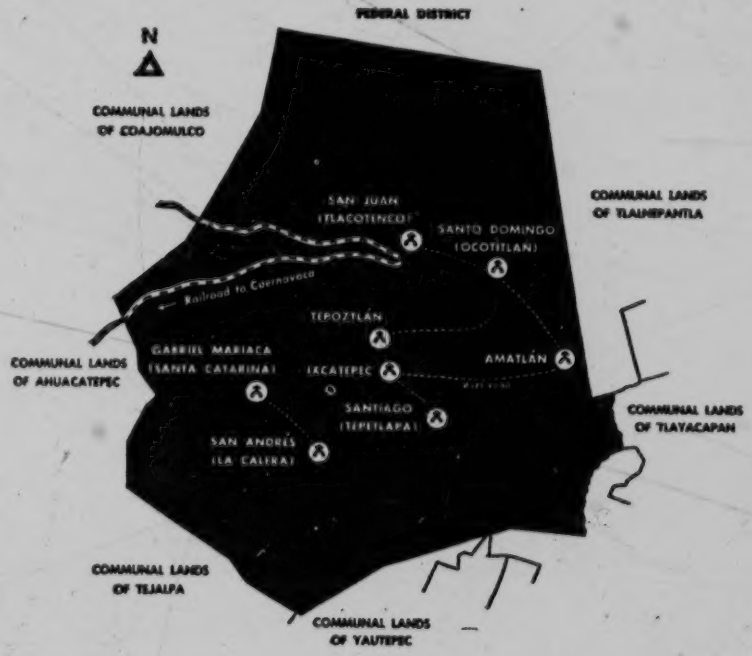

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Fig. 2. Tepoztlán and surrounding municipios.

caliente or the hot zone. San Juan, the highest village, is at the lower limit of *tierra fría* while San Andrés, the lowest village, is at the upper limit of *tierra caliente*. Three of the villages, Tepoztlán proper, Ixcatepec, and Amatlán, are at approximately the same level within the temperate zone. Santo Domingo is about intermediate between the cold zone and the temperate zone, and Santiago is about intermediate between the hot zone and the temperate zone.

To the north of the village is the mountainous and heavily wooded area locally known as the monte, which constitutes approximately fifty per cent of the total area of the municipio. The predominant trees are pine, fir, oak, and madroña.[2] The monte with its forest constitutes the greatest single natural resource of the municipio. It has traditionally been the source of firewood, lumber, and charcoal; and, as we shall see later, the monte has been the subject of bitter inter-village

[2] The species of trees in the monte are as follows: oak or *encino* (*Quercus reticulata*), (*Quercus albocinata*), and (*Quercus Laurina*); fir or *ayamel* (*Abies religiosa*); pine or *ocote*, (*Pinus patula*); *Cuazochitl* (unidentified).

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133 137 *texcal*, an area covered with volcanic rock and a thorny scrub forest with a predominating flora of copal gum, mimosalike legumes, a tree "sweet potato," and silk cotton trees.[8] *Texcal* covers a strip of land approximately two kilometers wide on the eastern limits of the municipio and constitutes about ten per cent of the total land area of the municipio. To the east of the divide is an area of rounded hills covered with scrub forest. These lands are known as *terrenos cerriles*. The predominating flora is *vera blanca*, *agualisca*, and scrub oak. Both the hill land and [311] the land of the divide itself are used for grazing and for the planting of corn by the primitive cutting and burning method; and the trees from the cleared land are [361] used for firewood. The villages of Santiago and Ixcatepec are located in the lower levels of this area, and the villages of Amatlán and Santo Domingo are found in pockets in the mountain chain which forms the eastern boundary of the municipio.

311 In viewing the land resources and types of land use in the municipio as a whole, we find there are five distinct types according to Tepoztecan categories: monte, *texcal*, *cerros*, *terrenos cerriles*, and *terrenos de temporal*. Each of these land types, with the exception of the *cerros*, plays an important role in the Tepoztecan economy. Their distribution is shown in Fig. 4. The approximate area of each of these land types and their uses are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Tepoztecan Land Types and Land Uses.

Land Types	Land Uses	Percentage of Total Land Area of Municipio
Monte	Lumber, firewood, charcoal	45
Texcal	*Tlacolol* (hoe culture), firewood	10
Terrenos cerriles	Grazing, *tlacolol*, firewood	18
Cerros	Some grazing and *tlacolol* but mostly of no use	12
Terrenos de temporal	Plow agriculture	15
Total		100

[125] The foregoing data are based on a survey made by the writer with the aid of Tepoztecan informants. A survey of the land resources of the municipio made by the Departamento Agrario in 1937 agrees quite closely with our own study (see Table 2), except that the categories used in classifying the lands are not those used by Tepoztecans.

It can be seen from Table 1 that the forest lands and grazing lands together account for the largest portion of the lands of the municipio, approximately sixty-three per cent. The agricultural poverty of the municipio as well as of the village [134] of Tepoztlán can be seen from the fact that only about fifteen per cent of the total land area is available for plow agriculture. Furthermore, most of the cultivable land is highly eroded and of poor productive quality. Tepoztecans distinguish three

[824] [8] The flora of the *texcal* consists primarily of *huaje blanco—Leucaena* (Leguminosae); *copal—Elaphrium* (Burseraceae); *Cazahuate—Ipomoea* (Convolvulaceae); and *palo mulato—Elaphrium* (Burseraceae).

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century, persisted in Tepoztlán almost until the Revolution. A reference to cotton growing in Tepoztlán is found as late as 1890 in one of the best early geographies of the state of Morelos.[6] Furthermore, some of my older informants remember having seen cotton plants grown in the late eighties and were able to give detailed descriptions of the plants and the way in which they were used.[7] Weaving went out at about the time cotton did.[8]

Another pre-Hispanic industry which has now practically disappeared is that of pulque making. According to old legends, pulque was invented in or near Tepoztlán, and Tepoztecans were famous for their celebrations and debauchery. In the ancient Codex Magliabecchiano manuscript at Florence there is a reference to Tepoztlán, as follows:

They celebrated another feast called Pilauana, which means intoxication in children, because during the said feast the boys would dance with the girls and they would mutually give each other drink until they became intoxicated . . . these Indians being already nine to ten years old.[9]

Referring to the figure of Tepoztecatl or Ometochtli it says:

This is the figure of a great debauch that a village which calls itself Tepuztlán had as a rite, and when an Indian died from intoxication, the others in the village had a great dance bearing hatchets, made of copper in their hands. This village is near Yautepec, a dependence of the Marquesado del Valle.[10]

The importance of the maguey plant in pre-Hispanic Tepoztlán can further be judged by Hernández' description of its uses.

It furnished the people with fire and fence wood, with gutters, tiles and thatching material, paper, and fibres from which shoes and cloth are made. They gather nails and needles from it, as well as fruits, wine, honey, sugar and vinegar.[11]

Other references to the Tepoztecan economy during the sixteenth century deal primarily with taxation and the operation of the *repartimiento* system. As one of the four villas of the Marquesado del Valle, Tepoztlán was an important source of labor supply for the neighboring haciendas. There are frequent references to Tepoztecan men being called upon to labor in the haciendas. During the latter part of the sixteenth century, Tepoztecans were assessed at the rate of four per

[6] Alfonso Luis Velasco, *Geografía y Estadística*, Bk. VIII.

[7] Cotton (*itchkatl* in Náhuatl) was planted on the edges of the cornfields so that it would not cut down corn production. The cotton seeds were toasted and eaten. Only the poorest families planted cotton and wove it into cloth. The cotton plant was opened and the cotton picked and then beaten to make it fluffy in preparation for spinning. Cotton cloth in Tepoztlán was called *tlazopili*. Náhuatl terms used to describe the various processes are as follows:

itchawitepitl—to beat the cotton with sticks.
tlapochina—to loosen the cotton before spinning.
matzawa—to spin thread.

[8] Redfield reported two looms in Tepoztlán in 1926-27.

[9] Miguel Salinas, "La Sierra de Tepoztlán," *Memorias y Revista de la Sociedad Científica*, Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 9 and 10 (July, 1920).

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] This is an abstract of Hernández given by J. J. Valentine, in his article on "Mexican Paper," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, N.S., I (1880-81), 49.

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TABLE 28. Distribution of Ownership of Plows, Oxen, and Land, 1944.

Barrio	Families Owning Plows	Families Owning Oxen	Families Owning Land
San Miguel	48	44	83
Santo Domingo	70	50	61
La Santísima	36	32	62
Santa Cruz (large)	14	14	44
Los Reyes	23	21	30
San Sebastián	8	6	11
Santa Cruz (small)	8	6	10
San Pedro	6	6	10
Tepoztlán	213	179	311

TABLE 29. Cost of Oxen, Rental of Oxen, and Wages.

Year	Cost of Oxen[a]	Rental of Oxen per Day (With Driver)	Rental of Oxen per Three Months		Wages of *Peón* per Day
			In Corn[b]	In Pesos	
1926–30	60.00	1.50	6	40.00	.50
1936	70.00	2.50	8	75.00	1.00
1940	100.00	3.25	8	125.00	1.25
1942	125.00	4.00	7	150.00	1.50
1943	200.00	5.00	7	150.00	1.50–2.00
1944 (April)	400.00	6.00	7	170.00	2.50–3.00
1944 (July)	400.00	7.50–10.00	7	200.00	3.00–3.50

[a] Cost in Guerrero.
[b] By 100 *cuartillos*.

WORK CYCLE AND PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

The work cycle of plow culture in Tepoztlán is in four stages: preparation of the land, planting, cultivation, and harvest.

Preparation of Land: In discussing the preparation of the land, we must distinguish between breaking new land, or land that has been idle for a number of years, and preparing land that was under cultivation the year before. In the former case the process is referred to as the *barbecho* (breaking of new land); in the latter as *los tres arados* (the three plowings). The system of plowing used in each case differs considerably. Some Tepoztecans begin their first *barbecho* in the dry or slack season, generally in March. However, at this time the earth is parched and hard, and plowing is difficult and slow. For this reason, farmers prefer to break new land during the rainy season, generally in August, in preparation for the following year. If the weeds are tall and strong they are cut with a machete, piled up to dry, and are burned.[6] It takes a man about three days to clear a heavily

[6] The most stubborn weeds are known as *zacate chino*. These have deep roots, and if the field is heavily weeded it is necessary to plow in January and again in March. The older men say that this weed came in after the Revolution.

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243 appearance of the new moon brings a better harvest. The rows of corn are 80 or
[821] 90 cm. apart, depending upon the fertility of the field. Yokes are therefore two
492 standard sizes.
[244] Some farmers mix their corn seed with beans: *frijol chino, pepita,* and *frijol colorado.* When this is done, no special number of seed is used. After the first cultivation, *frijol negro* or *bayo* may be planted between the corn hills.

In planting a field that has been prepared by the *dos arados* rather than by the *barbecho,* the plow is directed right through the middle of the old corn beds, and this is known as the *tercer arado,* completing the three plowings involved in the preparation and planting. Both in the newly broken ground and in the land that
[407] has been in cultivation the preceding year, the *arado criollo* (wooden plow) is used in planting, and a piece of wood is inserted which acts as a double mouldboard and throws the earth to both sides. The amount of corn that is planted per day depends upon the type of corn and the speed of the oxen and driver. On the average, two men working with a team of oxen can plant eight to ten *cuartillos* of *maíz ancho* per day, and about five to six *cuartillos* of *maíz pepitillo.*

First Cultivation: Two or three cultivations are generally given to cornfields; these cultivations are known as *el primer mano* or *el primer beneficio, el segundo mano,* and *el tercer mano.*

The first cultivation of the corn is generally done twenty days after the planting when the corn shoots are still very small.[10] Again the steel plow and the short yoke is used, and the oxen walk between the furrows on either side of the corn bed. The plow is pulled to the right of the row of young corn, so that the earth is turned away from the corn. The driver walks to the left of the row and holds the plow with his right hand. Two *peones* are used in addition to the driver. The *peones* follow the plow, staying on the left side of the row of corn; they bend over the corn and with their hands they carefully push the earth around the young plants. The two *peones* work simultaneously about twenty feet apart and by-pass each other when they reach a section that has already been cultivated. The first cultivation of a plot of ten to twelve *cuartillos,* using two *peones,* takes on an average of two days.

[825] Tepoztecans have an ingenious way of fighting ants which threaten the young
[824] corn. When the young shoots are about to appear, they take the leaves of a tree called *yamatl* (of the *amate* family), chop up the leaves, and sprinkle them over the rows of corn, and especially on ant nests. The ants prefer this leaf to corn, and Tepoztecans claim it makes them thin and eventually kills them. The leaf contains a white, milky substance so strong that it will peel the skin off a man's hand. Another tree whose leaves are used for the same purpose is *yoyohtli.*

Second Cultivation: The second cultivation begins about twenty days after the first cultivation is completed, generally in the last week of July. The process is very

[10] In fields which have gathered much water, Tepoztecans may plow in the furrows about eight days after planting, to spread the water. Such plowing is called *sobrnal.*

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The harvesting of corn, like all other operations in agriculture, is done on an individual family basis, with hired help if necessary. There is a minimum of labor exchange and cooperation. Our findings differ from those of Redfield. Redfield writes:

> The men always work in groups; the owner of the field has asked them to help him—it it is *cuatequitl*—and then when their fields are ripe he will help them harvest. These are social occasions. Each group has *la muleta*, "the little mule"—a bottle of alcohol hidden under a pile of corn. The preparation of their dinner is also done cooperatively at the house of the owner of the field, and this is a social occasion for the women. They carry the dinner to the fields for the men. The owner of the fields supplies the food and drink. But there the cooperative harvesting ends, for the removal of the grain is done separately in each individual house, each member of the family taking a hand.[18]

This account refers to a type of cooperation which does not now exist in Tepoztlán, and our informants did not remember its having existed in 1926 or even before the Revolution of 1910. Corn is shelled by both men and women. Women generally shell corn by hand in small quantities for daily use in the house and for small-scale trade. Large-scale shelling by the *carga* is generally done by the men who use an *elotero*, which is made of dry corncobs bound together in the form of a flat disc, over which the corn to be shelled is rubbed. Some use the black volcanic rock from the *texcal* for shelling. However, the corn selected for seed is shelled by hand by the men. Women of the two upper barrios of San Pedro and Los Reyes frequently shell corn on a large scale, whereas in the larger, center barrios, large-scale shelling is considered a man's work. In many cases *peones* are hired for this job. The shelled corn is stored in sacks, for the most part, although there are still a few of the old *cuescomatl*. (See Fig. 28.) Many families put the skeleton of a dog's head or a piece of *ocote* wood and lime in the sacks or the *cuescomatl* to protect the corn against spoilage. Formerly when *cuescomatls* were made, the priest would be called to bless them. There is a belief that when a death occurs, the corn in the house or on the house site will be more subject to the ravages of insects.

The loss of stored corn from insects is one of the serious problems faced by Tepoztecans. Many farmers complain that they lose a few *cargas* a year in this fashion. It is rare to find corn that lasts through to August without being seriously damaged by corn worms. Tepoztecans have still received little help with this problem from Mexican agronomists.

An old tradition persists in the village to the effect that the boa constrictor was formerly used to prevent stealing of corn from the cornfields and the granary. It is said that the snake was fed salt and *tequesquite* by the owner of the field, and that thereafter the snake would frighten all strangers by climbing up the cornstalk and making a whistling noise. These snakes were apparently tame and did not harm the owner, but would attack strangers. There seems to have been some

[18] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 126-27.

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854 usual case occurred in which a mother smothered her first two infants. She was severely beaten by her husband and scolded by her mother-in-law and all her relatives. When she gave birth to a third child everyone warned her to sleep lightly and quietly so as not to hurt the child, and her husband said that if the same thing happened he would accuse her of murder. Now a few better-to-do and more acculturated families have their infants sleep in cribs for the first three months, as a precautionary measure.

853 Nursing is not considered a pleasurable activity by most Tepoztecan women. Not one of the many mothers we interviewed enjoyed nursing, and some expressed strong dislike for it. Some complained that it was painful, that nursing made them thin or ill, and that they could not go anywhere without the child. Nursing is looked upon as of the utmost importance to the child and to the mother, since [847] it is believed by many that nursing delays conception. When nursing in the daytime the mother is usually seated, holding the child in her arms. During the first six months, mothers frequently lie down to nurse. Despite the expressed belief that it is improper for the baby to touch the mother's breasts, it is quite common to see babies doing so when they are no longer swaddled, with the mothers making no attempt to prevent this. Also, expressed attitudes to the contrary, mothers appear to enjoy caressing and playing with infants while they nurse. Nursing is best for mother and child during the first three months when the mother is well rested and has little work to do. As the infant gets older and is given over to a child nurse, so that the mother can resume her duties, she becomes more passive and distracted during nursing and may pay little attention to the baby. However, the baby is given the breast whenever he cries and is permitted to nurse as long as he wishes. The breast is used as a pacifier, and almost all nursing children are put to sleep this way. Until the child is weaned he is almost never denied the breast.

Solid foods are introduced to the child at varying ages. Some mothers do not give their children any solid food other than bread or tortillas until the end of the first year, or until the first two teeth have appeared. Most mothers give babies tastes of foods when they begin to grab for things, generally at about the age of six months. The most common foods given to nursing children are bread, tortilla, bean [262] soup, rice, noodle soup, fruit, and coffee. A few better-to-do families of more education give small children eggs, *atole* cooked with milk, and soup cooked with meat.

854 Infants are not permitted to cry, and every effort is made to quiet them. There is an attitude that a crying child is hungry, neglected, or ill, and many husbands scold their wives and get angry when much crying occurs. Women are usually more careful to stop a child's crying when their husbands are at home. Infants are sometimes spanked or frightened to make them stop crying.

854 Children who cry a great deal are often described as greedy. It is said that they will be poor when they grow up because they are crying for bread. If a crying baby 824 is not consoled by the breast, the leaf of the *kokochiaton*, or *dormidera*,[8] which

[8] *Mimosa pudica.*

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closes when touched, is sometimes placed under the child's pillow to make him stop crying and go to sleep. Sometimes the leaf of the *sapote blanco* may also be used. When a small child cries because he is *chincual*, or irritated in the rectum, the small berries of the *tokeachichi*[4] are put into the rectum to stop the crying. If a child is restless and sleepless because of diarrhea, his abdomen and buttocks are rubbed with hot tallow, into which has been mixed the powdered flower of the *cempaxochitl*, and then wrapped in a hot cloth.

Children are, for the most part, not hurried in their development. A healthy child is expected to walk at about one year and to talk at about two years. If the child does not walk by that time, some parents rub his leg and calf muscles with earth warmed by the sun, to remove the "cold" from his legs. More acculturated women may help their children learn to walk by placing a sash under the arms for support or by putting a toy before them. Children are only mildly encouraged to speak, by repeating words to them. There is little correction of childlike errors in speech, such as substituting "y" for "r" or omitting "s," or misplacing syllables, so that errors persist until the child is five or six years of age. If a child cannot speak by the time he is three or four, a church key may be borrowed and turned in the child's mouth to "unlock" it. It is believed by many that the fingernails of a child should not be cut until he begins to speak, because the palate will fall and the child will be mute. To prevent children from scratching themselves with their long nails, some mothers put little mittens on their hands. When teeth are late in coming, the gums may be rubbed with a grasshopper's leg until the gums bleed. This is an old practice and is no longer known by many of the younger people. It is also believed that a child's hair should not be cut before one year, or the child will become ill.

Most mothers prefer a quiet child to an active one and do not encourage children to be independent. It is considered careless and neglectful to permit children to crawl on the floor or in the dirt, and few mothers put their infants down for more than a moment. This attitude is in part due to the fact that children who crawl are more troublesome and need watching, and in part because there is usually no clean, safe place in which a child may crawl. Inside the house or in the patio there is always danger from insects and animals. Women point out that infants who are allowed to crawl about unobserved almost always suffer from chronic diarrhea, worms, and intestinal diseases. Mothers who have no one to help them often put their small children into a large box while they do their work. In the past a busy mother tied her child to a stake and let him play on a *petate*, but this is no longer done.

All infants in Tepoztlán are carried almost every waking moment up to the time they begin to walk. Children are carried a great deal even after they can walk and not infrequently until they are three and four years old. In Tepoztlán, children are not cradled or slung in the *rebozo*, as in some parts of Mexico, but are held in

[4] *Solanum nigrum*.

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862 the mother is pregnant, but many mothers do not wean the child until he shows definite symptoms of becoming ill. If weaning due to a new pregnancy occurs before two years, the mother and father are said to be inconsiderate of their infant. Weaning at one year sometimes occurs because the mother is ill or has insufficient milk. Although women frequently complain that they become thin and tired when they nurse, or that they receive painful bites, they rarely wean a child for these [858] reasons. A few mothers regularly wean their children at eighteen months. Weaning may be delayed in the case of a favorite child, to avoid making him cry.

One mother, who suffered from sore nipples, decided to wean her three-year-old son while her husband was away. When her husband came home that night he became angry and said that if the boy cried, the mother would receive a beating. Many people believe that the longer a child is nursed, the stronger he will be. It is not uncommon for the youngest and last child to be nursed as long as he wishes, sometimes for four or five years. Some believe, however, that after two years of nursing, the child begins to drink the mother's blood "like a bat," and that nursing a child too long will make him stupid.

When the mother decides to wean the child she places a bitter substance (*sávila*) on the nipple, often in the child's presence, and tells him that her breast is sore and that he may no longer nurse. Some mothers wean *por derecho*, that is by binding the breasts and not permitting the child to see them again. But many do not bind the breasts for several days, and if the child cries or begs hard he is given the breast so that he "will not be angry" with the mother. If the child continues to nurse despite the *sávila*, a more bitter substance (*prodigiosa*)[5] is applied. Today, [824] bicarbonate of soda, iodine, alcohol, etc., are also used. A child is considered difficult to wean if he continues to nurse despite the "medicines" applied. Crying, even if prolonged over eight days, is viewed as a normal part of weaning. In general, the younger the child the more difficult he is to wean. A delicate or sickly child may be treated more gently, by gradually reducing the number of nursings for eight or fifteen days before weaning is begun, but few women do this. Since so many children are nursed for at least two years, most of them are weaned in a few days. Few mothers consider weaning difficult.

Many women have a great deal of milk, and their breasts are painful during weaning. Some express the milk with their hands to relieve the pain, others cannot and must rely on binding. Hot alcohol is rubbed on the breasts and back, or heated [757] tortillas are placed on the breasts, to ease the pain. Another technique is to heat the *tejolate* (pestle) and rub the breast with it. It is believed that nursing should not be resumed once the breasts are bound because the milk changes and acts as a purgative. When milk is expressed, it is generally buried in the earth in a place [825] where the ants will not get to it so that the mother will have a good supply of milk for her next baby. Some women express the milk into a cloth and throw it over the roof for the same reason.

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[5] *Calcosantus.*

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Fiesta of Sixth Friday of Lent or Viernes de Dolores, celebrated in the parish church: Fasting is required. This is the beginning of Holy Week.

Fiesta of Sábado de Dolores, celebrated in the parish church: This is celebrated with holy offices and a Vía Crucis procession.

Fiesta of Palm Sunday, celebrated in the parish church: This is a very important holiday. Tepoztecans take palm leaves to be blessed by the priest. It is believed that blessed palm protects against lightning. Ashes of blessed palm placed upon the head are thought to cure bad headaches. Blessed palm is also placed at the door of the house to prevent fires and being struck by lightning.

Fiesta of Holy Monday and Holy Tuesday, celebrated in the parish church: These are days of great devotion. The religious associations are very active, visiting the church and barrio chapels. Many Tepoztecans choose these days for their annual confession.

Fiesta of Holy Wednesday: Rigorous fasting begins. Meat is not eaten until the Saturday of Glory. Substitute foods are beans, *huauzontle*, *tortas*, stuffed peppers, fish, *revoltijo*, and lentils. All work must stop through the Sunday of Resurrection. Women prepare tortillas for the rest of the week. In the evening is the vigil of the Lord, the men taking turns all through the night. Women customarily go to church in the late afternoon to pray the thirty-three Credos, one for each year of Jesus' life. It is believed that those who do this will triple their earnings during the year.

Holy Thursday: The church is full on this day. The priest dramatically describes the passion of Christ, and crying on the part of women is common. Not to do so is "to have a cold heart." In the afternoon is the ceremonial foot-washing of the apostles.

Holy Friday: This is the culminating day of Holy Week. Throughout the village there is profound quietude. No one must run or shout or use bad words, so as not to offend the Lord. The men silently drink their *ponche* together while the women, dressed in black, go to church. On this day, children are not to be struck, for "it would be striking the Lord."

Holy Saturday: At 7:00 A.M. the faithful of the village and the municipio go to the church where the priest pronounces the "Gloria in Excelsis Deo." With this all the bells, which have been silent since Wednesday, are rung, and joy spreads through the village. While the bells ring, old men trim their plants so that they will produce more, mothers snip the ends of their daughter's hair to make it grow longer, and children are struck on the legs to make them grow taller. Two or three *comparsas* are organized to dance on this day.

Easter Sunday: Everyone dresses well and goes to Mass. Sometimes the *chinelos* leap in the afternoon. People stand in little groups in the plaza, and men drink a great deal.

April 29. *Fiesta of San Pedro*, celebrated in San Pedro: The only unusual feature of this fiesta is the group of children who dance for San Pedro.

May 1-31. All this month is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and *rosarios* are held every afternoon. Girls from seven to fifteen years of age dress in white and bring flowers to the Virgin.

May 3. *Fiesta of Santa Cruz*, celebrated in Santa Cruz: This fiesta is celebrated not only in this barrio but in all homes and places having crosses. All crosses are adorned with flowers, especially Bougainvillaea. Incense is burned, and fireworks are set off. This fiesta is also celebrated in Ixcatepec, but is postponed until the following Sunday in deference to the barrio of Santa Cruz. It is one of the best attended fiestas. There are cockfights and visiting dancers from Yautepec and Milpa Alta.